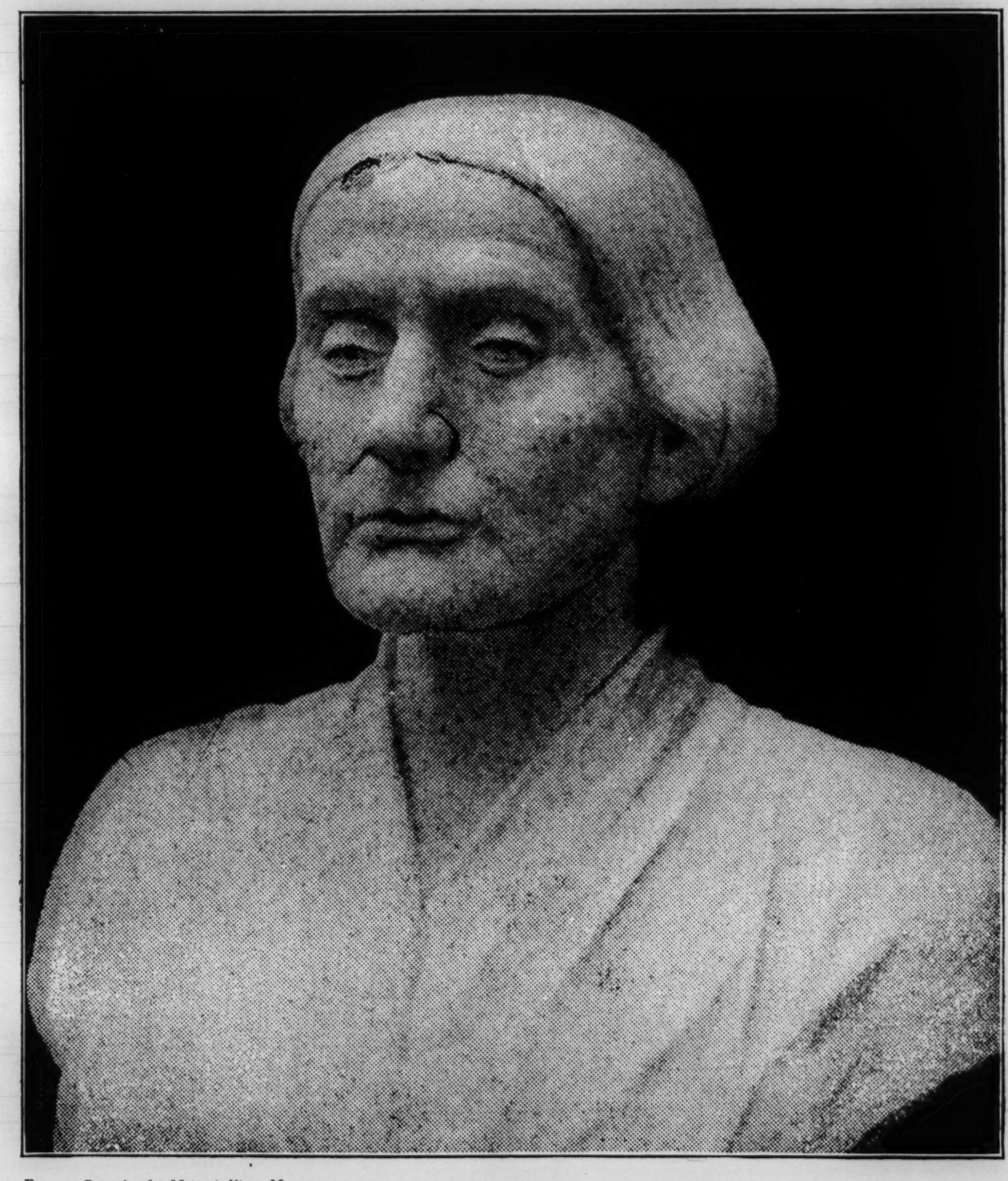
FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, APRIL 14, 1917



From a Bust in the Metropolitan Museum

Susan B. Anthony—Herald of The Woman's Revolution

National Woman's Party

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OBJECT: TO SECURE AN AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION ENFRANCHISING WOMEN

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Notes of the Week

The First War Losses

ONE hundred and eighteen munition workers, mostly women, were killed on April 10 in an explosion at the Eddystone Ammunition Corporation in Chester, Pennsylvania. One hundred and fifty others were so badly injured by the bursting of 10,000 shrapnel shells that many more are expected to die. Twenty-five are missing. Officials of the company believe that German sympathizers plotted the explosion.

It is a deeply significant warning to the nation that the first losses of the war are largely women. If enemies of the government caused the blowing-up of the munition plant these women were just as definitely killed in war as if they had been holding a front line of trenches. If the explosions were the result of accident it should no less bring home to the government the fact that the seventy-five per cent of the population needed to keep a modern army fighting efficiently is just as vital to the conduct of war as the fighters. Women have got to help in this work. The administration cannot be so unjust and so ungenerous as to expect women to take their share in the dangers and hardships of war without share in authority for waging it. The death of these women munition makers should be the last warning.

The Minimum Wage Law

THE Oregon minimum wage law for women has been up-held as constitutional by the United States Supreme Court. The Court was evenly divided on the question, Justice Brandeis being unable to take part in the decision because he was counsel at the first hearing of the case. This is the first compulsory minimum wage law that has come before the Supreme Court and similar laws in most of the other Western states and in Massachusetts have depended upon this decision.

The Oregon law permits the state Industrial Welfare Commission to fix the hours of work for women and children and the wages of women in any occupation and in any community of the state. The commission fixed a wage of $8.64 a week for women in manufacturing establishments in Portland, stating that the sum was the lowest "to supply the necessary cost of living and to maintain women in health" in that city. The suit was brought by a box manufacturer on that application of the law.

The states that have passed minimum wage laws are Arkansas, California, Colorado, Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington and Wisconsin, all equal suffrage states but three. The states which have limited woman's work to eight hours are also states where women are enfranchised—Arizona, California, Colorado, Washington and Oregon.

When the Supreme Court reflects the desire of women for a nearer approximation of social justice, the realization of complete justice for women is at hand.

Logic

THE latest editorial comment of the New York *Times* on the suffrage issue contains the following paragraph:

"The Ohio Legislature consulted neither the women nor the men. It passed a suffrage bill. A popular referendum will be taken, so that the men at least will have their day in court. Nobody seems to think that it is of any importance to find out what the opinion of the women is. They must be "emancipated," whether they prefer their chains or not."

The old enemy of suffrage has advanced one step forward from its straight and narrow anti-suffrage path to a position where its stand is in favor apparently of letting the women decide what they want in the matter.

And then why not let the women have a day in court to decide whether or not they wish the men to continue as voters? The *Times* should be quite logical in these matters.

How Far Will the President Go for Democracy

IN answer to a message from President Poincaré welcoming the United States into the ranks of the belligerent nations, President Wilson said:

"It is very delightful to us that France, who stood shoulder to shoulder with us of the Western world in our struggle for independence, should now give us such a welcome into the lists of battle as upholders of the freedom and rights of humanity.

"We stand as partners of the noble democracies whose aims and acts make for the perpetuation of the rights and freedom of man and for the safeguarding of the true principles of human liberties. In the name of the American people, I salute you and your illustrious countrymen."

Once more the United States is designated by its chief executive as the "upholder of the freedom and rights of humanity." Once more we must need ask if women are in any way connected with humanity. Once more we are forced to call attention to the fact that President Wilson's fine phrases about freedom can mean little since they are followed by no action upon the one measure now before his own country for establishing democracy within its boundaries. The suffrage issue is so constantly before the eyes of the President in the form of the pickets at his gates that he can not forget it.

To safeguard "the true principles of human liberty" this country, the President says, "is entering upon a great war; to establish the same principles in our own country the leader of the nation will not go farther than a declaration in a party platform.

A Democratic City

A REFERENDUM on the question of war with Germany was taken on one of the last days before war was declared in Sheboygan, Wisconsin. Women voted with men on the question.

One city, even in a non-suffrage state, is just in seeing that war is no more the business of men than it is of women.

Russian Women Assured of Enfranchisement

SINCE Prince Lvoff, Premier of the new Russian Provisional Government, has informed a deputation of women who waited upon him that women will be allowed to vote in the elections to the Constituent Assembly in Russia, there is good promise that the women of Russia will be enfranchised with the men.

Madame Breshkovsky, known as the grandmother of the revolution, who has spent forty-four of her seventy-seven years in Siberia, has returned to Russia to take up again her work in the interest of democracy.

The Dawn of Democracy in Russia

AN Easter message from the Kaiser to the German people promises electoral reform for Prussia and for the German Empire after the war. Besides the reform of the Prussian Diet, the promise specified "the liberation of our entire inner political life." This message has freed opinion in Germany which is now, on the evidence of all but the most reactionary of newspapers, calling for the full democracy of which the Kaiser's message is only the first hint.

The countries of Europe involved in the war all seem to have been roused to a kind of rivalry of democracy that will lead no one yet can guess where. In this rivalry constitutions are being formed and changed, revolutions waged and century-old institutions tumbled down. The United States government, on the other hand, already provided with a simple constitutional means of working the democratic reform of women suffrage which it acknowledges right and which has been thoroughly tried out in a number of its states, ambles along half-asleep in its conventional rut. If it has not intelligence enough to act of its own accord, women will have to make their demand for enfranchisement strong enough to force the administration to democratic action.

A Woman's Vote on War

By Florence Brewer Boeckel

THE House of Representatives was voting war or peace for the men and women of America. Through the votes of 434 men the attitude of the men of the nation would find expression. To give voice to the desires of the women, there was the vote of one woman—Jeannette Rankin, elected from Montana.

The debate had lasted since ten o'clock of the morning before, and to the crowds waiting outside, the lighted dome of the Capitol now showed against the daybreak of another day.

THE strain of those hours had been terrific. The gentlemen from more than one state had grown much overwrought under it. The serious leaders of the minority had said what they had to say and left the hall. The outcome was already known, but speeches went on in order that representatives might convince constituencies—or put the blame upon them,—or in order that other gentlemen, to the loud laughter of the House, might eloquently pledge the lives of the sons of their sisters.

Through House and gallery there was the levity that is the beginning of hysteria—but in the back row of the House there sat a woman alone, with her head resting on her hand and her expression unchanging,—and at one end of the gallery sat another woman who wept quietly without suggestion of hysteria, because, as she said, "It is so hopeless"—the effort of a great nation to make known its will.

Finally the roll call for the vote began. In the case of hardly a man was there the excitement of doubt as to his stand. But which side would the one woman, the first who had ever voted on the war policy of a great nation, the first woman to speak with any authority in this world conflict, cast her vote? Would it be hidden safely in her party vote, would it be given to the minority, or would it in some way be a thing apart and bring a new element into the situation? Nobody knew. As the roll came to her name the House grew quiet, members turned in their seats to find her, and the galleries leaned forward silently. Some few knew the influences that had been brought to bear upon her during that long day. The militarists, men and women, had told her that women would be despised and their cause lost should woman's only vote be cast on the side of "weakness;" while pacifists, women and men, declared that to vote for war was to deny the women and the liberals who had elected her—and, in between the two, politicians had prophesied that nothing but impotence for her and loss of all political prestige for women would result from failure to stand at this crisis strictly with her party. The few who knew these things and knew the great eagerness of Jeannette Rankin to play her part wisely for the good of her country and to the glory of all women, could feel the conflict in her mind, and see her struggle to bring order out of it, as they waited.

Twice her name was called on the first roll and twice again on the second before Miss Rankin answered. Then hesitating, and with a little effort, she stood up—and broke a rule of the House. She did not answer the prescribed "yes" or "no." She forgot rules in what was a truly heroic effort to face her difficult problem fairly and to find the truth and voice it.

"I want to stand by my country, but I cannot vote for war." She said it in a low voice without emphasis, but it was heard in every part of the House, and no man or woman heard it without some thrill.

When Miss Rankin sat down, the clerk went to her seat to ask for her definite vote. "My vote," she told him, "is no."

But her vote was neither yes nor no. It was more than either. She had represented not the women of Montana, nor the women of the nation, but the womanhood of the world—and of the ages. She had brought into politics a new force that had made itself felt in the moment of silence following her words.

THE patriotism of women has no need of proof. They have never shrunk, when the preservation of their countries demanded it, from war or the sacrifice of their own lives, or of what is so much more than the equivalent of their own, the lives of their sons. But wherever they are now beginning to express their own beliefs and their own ideals they are pointing out the possibility of another kind of service, a service that takes the form not of death but of fuller life, of creation not of destruction.

In her few words Jeannette Rankin declared the possibility of a patriotism other than war patriotism, a service other than war service. Nations must be renewed and strengthened within as well as defended without. The fact that the very men whose votes she opposed have applauded her shows that this other patriotism is not a vision that women alone see, but one that the whole world wishes realized—another one of those many visions of better things that women have been urged on to realize for the world, though this time they will not be left to do it unaided, for the task is too great and its appeal too strong.

At the breakfast given Miss Rankin the day she took her seat in Congress, women interested in the political freedom of women, in the protection of child life, in labor laws and health insurance, all welcomed her with the feeling, now at last there will be someone in power whom we do not need to convince, whom we do not need to persuade to help us, for whose vote we need pull no political strings.

In every fighting country social reforms are being urged and instituted as a part of the nation's defense, and women whose interest and effort are so freely and naturally given to this work are being given a voice in the government.

How is it that this government as it enters upon war feels that it has no need to strengthen the forces which stand for the conservation and increase of life? We are imitating Europe in all other methods of preparedness. Are we to be behind the nations we join as the champion of democracy in our "preparedness" measures for the increased welfare of the people of the nation, and the last of them to extend the principles of democracy to women?

Senate Hearing on the Amendment

A SENATE hearing before the Suffrage Committee of the Senate on the federal suffrage amendment has been arranged by Senator Jones of New Mexico, chairman of the committee, when, with Miss Anne Martin, vice-chairman of the Woman's Party, presiding, two hours will be devoted to a discussion of the federal suffrage amendment and its bearing on the present national situation. The hearing will take place at ten o'clock, April 26, in the Senate Office Building. The speakers to be heard will be prepared to lay before the Senate Committee first-hand information pointing to the fact that fully one-half of the actual burdens of war are borne by women, as proven by the European nations now engaged, which have finally through necessity been forced to recognize the justice of women's claims.

A hearing before the Judiciary Committee of the House will follow the Senate hearing. Arrangements for this hearing have been taken up with Chairman Webb of the Judiciary Committee, who is very willing to have the question reopened.

The question of the creation of a Suffrage Committee in the House this Congress is finding marked support in the leaders. Such a bill has been introduced by Congressmen Hayden of Arizona and Raker of California, and suffrage leaders have every assurance that it will pass this session of Congress. Miss Jeannette Rankin has given the Woman's Party assurances that she will do everything possible to secure such a committee.

An Hour on the Suffrage Picket Line

By Ernestine Evans

THE pickets who stand at the gates of the White House and at the gates of the Sixty-fifth Congress, with their purple, white and gold banners tugging in the April wind and the sockets of their arms aching from the strain, are a pageant in themselves.

"How Long Must Women Wait for Liberty?" The question stands on banners as gay as the crocus and tulip beds across the avenue in La Fayette Square. "Pleasanter weather," the policeman at the locked gate, who does an eight-hour shift of his own, said to the pickets who had come back with spring, "winter was fierce, but there's sunshine with the wind now."

The picketers, in turn, standing on windy Capitol Hill or at the Pennsylvania avenue gates of the White House, have a pageant of their own—the visitor and lobbyist from Virginia, Maine and California, bent on peace or war or a sight of the Congressional Library. Sometimes they hurry by, oftener they stop.

HOW you stand here!" —an old confederate veteran took off his hat one morning, and looking up at "How Long Must Women Wait for Liberty?" read it over and over. "Girls,"—he addressed a woman of fifty who has labored all her life for the care and protection of working people, and a trained nurse, who had voluntered for picket duty, "you're right. I've been through wars and I know. You-all got to have some rights." And he passed on with a backward glance at the two erect and patient figures.

"How dare you!" again it was an old man who bristled belligerently as the silken corners of "Russia and England are Enfranchising Women in Wartime" flapped in the wind. "At a time like this when the democracy of the world is at stake, how dare you embarrass the President?"

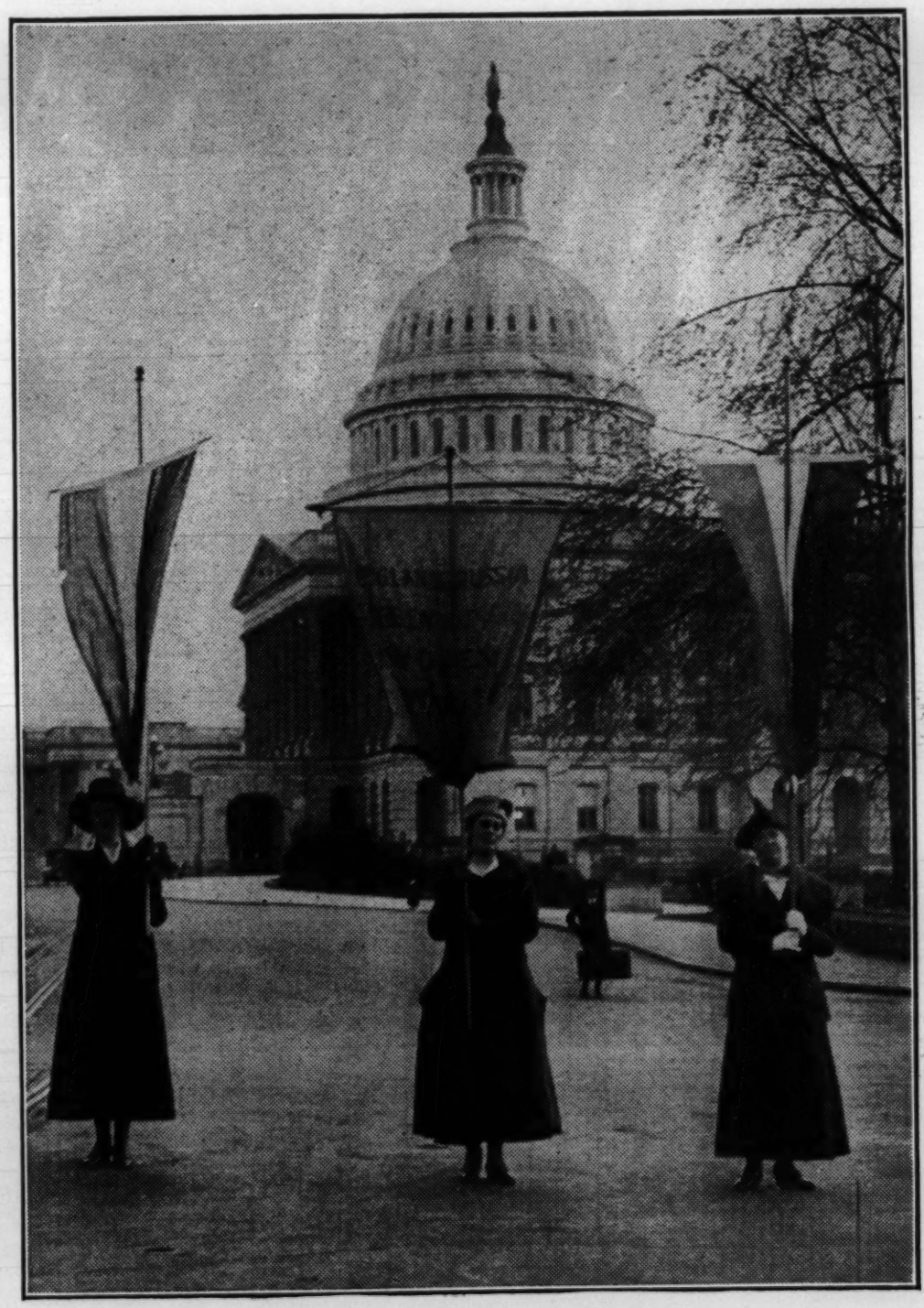
"Embarrass the President?" Picket eyebrows were quietly raised.

"You are an impossible, unpatriotic gang of women," the surly threatening tone went on.

"But do you believe in the war we have just entered—believe that we should cross the seas to fight for democracy?" The picket voice was very slow and very quiet.

"Well," she added as she found her affirmative in the old man's face. "I like to fight for democracy here. I do not want my government to be the last to deny women liberty," and she began to fumble in her pocket for a clipping of the President's speech of April 2.

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments." The man said nothing.



Sentinels at the Capitol in War Time

HALF a dozen government clerks walked by with eyes averted. Oblivious officials passed in and out the guarded gates.

"Why do you do it? Why do you do it?" a fashionably dressed woman, one of the few who stopped that morning, put the question to one of the pickets. "You have set back suffrage fifty years. It's bound to come."

"Then how do we set it back? I'll tell you why we do it. It's because nothing was ever won that wasn't won because some people somewhere wanted it all of the time and wanted it first, not somewhere down a list of constantly changing expedient gifts. We want it now just a little bit more than we have ever wanted it before. Loyal—of course we are loyal. There has never been a time in the world when women have not fought for the freedom of men as hard as men fought for their own freedom."

"I'll tell you why we do it now. Suffrage must come to women as an act of justice, and not as a gift from the male Santa Claus of the race. It is important for men to know that they are enfranchising women because they must, because women insist upon responsibility and the right to initiate the public life and government of the world.

"Forgive my smiling. Men are slow with their 'gift.' We must get it from them ourselves."

HOW long must women wait for liberty?" A limousine rolled out from the White House and T. R. raised his hat and smiled, on his way back from asking the President if he could lead twenty thousand men in France. The pickets smiled back at him. They were standard-bearers for twenty million women here at home.

The Suffragist

VOL. V, No. 64 SATURDAY, APRIL 14, 1917

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THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.

In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating and Hayden.

Referred

In the Senate to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorabe minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916. Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Spirit that Launched the Federal Amendment

IF THE federal suffrage amendment is to be put through during this session of the Sixty-fifth Congress women must call up in themselves a devotion to that purpose like the devotion that first launched the amendment.

Susan B. Anthony and her fighting group had the spirit to conceive the idea of federal action to enfranchise women. We have the definite political power to force it into fact. Women of this generation must not prove too inert for the easy effort of reaping the difficult pioneer sowing.

Susan B. Anthony's *Revolution,* founded to push the new hope of Congressional action that kindled suffragists after they saw Congress enfranchise the negroes, declared in 1869: "Women need but speak the word to secure her political freedom today."

In spite of the fiery spirit that led the movement, however, the federal suffrage amendment in 1860 was only a hope. The best friends of suffrage among political leaders betrayed the trust women gave them. Political parties played with the issue. Susan B. Anthony, indeed, forsaw the policy women would have to follow to win suffrage. She saw fulfillment if "all the suffragists of the United States could see eye to eye on this point, and stand shoulder to shoulder against every party and politician not fully and unequivocally committed to Equal Rights for women." But in 1869 *The Revolution* could speak with positiveness only for a time to come: "With the women of this country lies a political power in the future that both parties would do well to respect."

Since the founding of *The Revolution* seven million women have been enfranchised.

It is true that we have always needed but to speak the word. If after the Civil War all women had been fired to rise up and demand that they be given freedom with the negro they could have wrung justice from the jeering, unintelligent Congresses that ignored their petitions. It is true that if action upon Congress had been kept up since 1869 with the same vigor with which it started, that if every slight state gain had been applied as a lever upon the administration, we should long ago have had national equal suffrage. We recognize that we have been slavish. If men's instinct toward political life had been thwarted for these fifty years they would have waged a revolution of blood until they won freedom. We must regret these years of half-hearted effort, but we must turn our regret into the stronger effort for immediate victory.

For now our way is plain. In these years the slight gains won by the persistence of a few women have little by little piled up a telling political weight for all women. Sufficient power is at last in the hands of seven million women to batter down every political barrier for all the women of the nation.

Yet if we are not to wait even now that women hold the key to enfranchisement we must summon up something of that ardent impatience that started the movement we are now culminating. As always we are being told to stand aside for weightier issues. It would be wrong for us to postpone for another month this reform of justice, and we need not. We must throw off humble acquiescense with the dictates of politicians, get over habitual complacence at being put off like children, and by strength of decision force the government that is calling upon us to put an effort equal to men's into the war the United States has now entered to give us our fullest share in the political life of our country.

At no time since the launching of the federal campaign has it been more vital for women to hold fast to Susan B. Anthony's truth: "To establish woman on her political throne is the greatest of all revolutions."

The Revolution—The Dawn of Federal Suffrage Agitation

IN spite of the protest of its outstanding leaders the tragedy of the Civil War had buried, with other causes, the cause of women. The first sign of quickening following the war was the new agitation for the federal suffrage amendment growing out of the disappointed hopes of those who had expected to be enfranchised with the negroes as a sort of war bonus. Whatever else the enfranchisement of the blacks had taught women, the outstanding lesson was that of Congressional action. For the first time the suffragists of the time saw the enfranchisement of women as a whole, half of the nation enfranchised by Congress as the blacks had been enfranchised.

The first sturdy sign of the new rebellious spirit on the part of suffragists, the sign that announced to politicians that the rebellion of women was once more gaining head, was Susan Anthony's *Revolution,* launched in January, 1868, the fruit of years of previous planning and striving. Judged by the periodicals of her time, by the standards of the rank and file, *The Revolution* marked an epoch for women.

It is safe to say that had that great leader been able to finance her agitation for women, to keep before an inert public their demand for political liberty, the early struggle would have gained greater headway. And had the women to whom she passed on her hopes kept steadily flaming that spirit of rebellion which is of necessity the sign of life in all reform movements, women would not be still demanding political recognition after half a century.

Today in the face of a war advertized as one for the fulfillment of democracy overseas, a democracy which does not exist at home, women will do well to recall Susan B. Anthony and her *Revolution.*

THERE is no more touching chapter in the history of the suffrage movement as a whole, and her part in it in particular, than that which deals with the founding of *The Revolution,* the first feminist paper in this country, the first voicing of the new demand of women, the recording of the initial stages of the present fight for the federal suffrage amendment.

In 1868 it was epoch-making that women should edit and control a paper of any sort. That it should be dedicated to women's interests, that it should in its very name fly the courageous flag of a then revolutionary cause, drew down on Miss Anthony as proprietor and Mrs. Stanton as editor condemnation from many quarters.

For the first time in history the word "militant" was used at that time in connection with women's battle for political liberty. In the half-century that has passed since *The Revolution* appeared and disappeared, "militancy," the spirit of revolt behind the suffrage movement, has fluctuated, has appeared to die out, and has rearisen to insistent demand; but it is doubtful whether any group of women within the last decade has been forced to meet with more pitiless ridicule than that which Miss Anthony and her friends faced when she sent forth the little sixteen-page paper, whose burdens she carried long after the paper itself had perished and been forgotten.

THE "Ladies Militant," derided the New York *Times* in a headline on the day the first *Revolution* appeared—singular indeed that this ancient foe of women should have been the originator of the phrase now used on two continents. "It is out at last," says the facetious commentator, "if women as a body have not succeeded in getting up a revolution, Susan B. Anthony as their representative has. Her *Revolution* was issued last Thursday as a sort of New Years' gift to what she considered a yearning public, and it is said to be 'charged to the muzzle with literary nitro-glycerine'."

To keep *The Revolution* alive Miss Anthony made the tremendous effort of her life. An ardent believer in publicity, it was her dream that women should find a voice through their own paper, a paper dedicated to their interests and which could not misrepresent the phases of the woman movement. Leaving the literary direction of the paper in Mrs. Stanton's competent hands, Miss Anthony took upon herself the thankless task of trying to make this long-cherished plan pay for itself. She begged advertisements for the paper from door to door, shop to shop, during sweltering New York summers, she "went on the road" as a suffrage speaker determined to put *The Revolution* before the heedless women of the nation. She took her paper to Washington and went from Congressman to Congressman to present the fledgling and ask support for it. When President Johnson himself subscribed, she felt the government itself had been reached.

"We have shocked more friends of the cause into life than we ever dreamed we had," exulted Mrs. Stanton. "Persons who never gave a cent or said a word for our movement are the most concerned lest Susan or I should injure it!"

The Revolution treated all phases of the woman question of the day, with the emphasis on the national enfranchisement of women. It took up with vigor the battle of the women workers, preaching fairer conditions and organization consistently, backed by labor itself through the Workingwoman's Association. It was the forerunner in the wilderness for half-a-dozen other crusades, taking an advanced and fearless position on such questions as marriage and divorce reform, eugenics, and prostitution.

FROM the first, however, *The Revolution* did not "pay." Mrs. Stanton received no salary and Miss Anthony only the bare expenses of her arduous traveling. Yet the most heroic efforts could not finance so radical a paper in 1868, and after two years Miss Anthony was forced to stop its publication.

"My paper shall not go down," she cried in the midst of struggle against incroaching debt. "I am sure you will believe in me, in my honesty of purpose, and also in the grand work which *The Revolution* seeks to do . . . If I could only die, and thereby fail honorably, I would say 'amen,' but to live and fail—it would be too terrible to bear."

When at last Miss Anthony was forced to abandon an enterprise that had become dearer to her than a child, she was weary in mind and body, but unconquered in spirit. Owing money to her own family, to remote relatives and many outside creditors, she set to work with determination to lift the load of debt from her shoulders. She would not accept compromises or gifts. There was passion in the long fight for freedom which she began. It was as if she could not bear that the hope of her whole life-time, into which she had put ambitions not for herself but for all women should bear the stigma of debt. Dollar by dollar that ten-thousand-dollar weight was lifted from her shoulders by herself alone through lecture-tours that made her a wanderer from one end of the country to the other. It was a battle which she was left to fight alone. Miss Anthony fought alone and won, won, paying the whole indebtedness of *The Revolution* after ten years of concentrated effort.

TO realize the vast difference between this first suffrage magazine for women in contrast to the other women's periodicals of the day, one has but to look at the "Lady's Books," "The Rose-buds," and the like sentimental offerings for female consumption only which were put out at the time to appeal to the unawakened average woman Miss Anthony worked all her life to reach.

In her last comment on her *Revolution* written to an English friend when the paper had been disposed of to be used politically, she cries militantly: "I do not pray for anybody or any party to commit outrages, still I do pray, and that earnestly and constantly, for some terrific shock to startle the women of this nation into a self-respect which will compel them to see the abject degradation of their present position; which will force them to break their bondage and give them faith in themselves; which will make them proclaim their allegiance to women first; which will enable them to see that man can no more feel, speak or act for women than could the old slave-holder for his slave. The fact is, women are in chains, and their servitude is all the more debasing because they do not realize it. O to compel them to see and feel, and to give them courage and conscience to speak and act for their own freedom, though they face the scorn and contempt of the world for doing it!" . . .

"If you should ask me to choose between the possession of twenty-five thousand dollars and the immense work accomplished by *The Revolution* during the time in which I sank that amount, I should chose the work done." This was Susan Anthony's last word on her victorious defeat after she had paid the price.

The Revolution.

PRINCIPLE, NOT POLICY: JUSTICE, NOT FAVORS.—MEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING MORE: WOMEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING LESS.

VOL. III.—NO. 16. NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 22, 1869. WHOLE NO. 68.

The Revolution.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, $2 A YEAR.

NEW YORK CITY SUBSCRIPTIONS, $2.50.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, PARKER PILLSBURY, } Editors.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Proprietor.

OFFICE 37 PARK ROW (ROOM 20.)

ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

AMERICAN EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION.

THE AMERICAN EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION will hold its Anniversary in New York, at STEINWAY HALL, Wednesday and Thursday, May 12th and 13th, and in Brooklyn, ACADEMY OF MUSIC, on Friday, the 14th.

After a century of discussion on the rights of citizens in a republic, and the gradual extension of Suffrage, without property or educational qualifications, to all white men, the thought of the nation has turned for the last thirty years to negroes and women.

And in the enfranchisement of black men by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution, the Congress of the United States has now virtually established on this continent an aristocracy of sex; an aristocracy hitherto unknown in the history of nations.

With every type and shade of manhood thus exalted above their heads, there never was a time when all women, rich and poor, white and black, native and foreign, should be so wide awake to the degradation of their position, and so persistent in their demands to be recognized in the government.

Woman's enfranchisement is now a practica question in England and the United States. With bills before Parliament, Congress and all our State Legislatures—with such able champions as John Stuart Mill and George William Curtis, woman need but speak the word to secure her political freedom to-day.

We sincerely hope that in the coming National Anniversary every State and Territory, east and west, north and south, will be represented. We invite delegates, too, from all those countries in the Old World where women are demanding their political rights.

Let there be a grand gathering in the metropolis of the nation, that Republicans and Democrats may alike understand, that with the women of this country lies a political power in the future, that both parties would do well to respect.

The following speakers from the several states are already pledged: Anna E. Dickinson, Frederick Douglass, Mary A. Livermore, Madam Anneke, Lilly Peckham, Phebe Couzens. M. H. Brinkerhoff, Olive Logan; Mrs. E. Oakes Smith, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Henry Ward Beecher, Olympia Brown, Robert Purvis, Josephine S. Griffing, Lucy Stone, Ernestine L. Rose, Susan B. Anthony, Theodore Tilton, Rev. O. B. Frothingham, Amelia Bloomer, Mrs. Frances McKinley.

LUCRETIA MOTT, President.

☞ Communications and Contributions may be addressed to the Treasurer, John J. Merritt, 131 Williamstreet, New York.

☞ Newspapers friendly, please publish this Call.

THE WOMAN'S BUREAU.

BY the 1st of May THE REVOLUTION will be in splendid quarters up-town where women can visit us without climbing up three long flights of stairs, encountering at every turn the smoke and juice of the vile Virginia weed.

Our new office will be found at No. 49 East 23d street, second door from the Academy of Design and directly opposite the Young Men's Christian Association. And will not THE REVOLUTION, staring those young male Christians in the face, be a standing prophecy that the great wheel of time may possibly revoke their recen decision that no DAUGHTER of Eve shall be admitted within their charmed circle?

The "Woman's Bureau" is to be a kind of Woman's Exchange, where the Sorosis, the Suffrage and Working Woman's Associations can hold sweet counsel together, have weekly receptions in the elegantly furnished parlors.

This large four-story brown stone building has just been purchased by Mrs. Elizabeth B. Phelps for the special purpose of establishing HEADQUARTERS for the Woman Movement. Mrs. Phelps is a woman of cultivation, generosity and rare financial ability, who, Mr. Greeley says, never makes a mistake. She intends hereafter to devote her wealth, time and talents to the education, elevation and enfranchisement of her sex. She has long been contemplating some plan to aid woman; and this experiment is but the beginning of what she proposes to do in the no distant future. A few such women, with strong heads and sound hearts could, with united efforts, soon roll back the dark flood tides of poverty, ignorance, and vice that are now sapping the very foundations of our national virtue and strength.

WHO WILL SPEAK!

WE shall publish, from time to time, the answers we receive to the many invitations sent out for the coming anniversary, that our readers may know the rich feast in store for them.

50 WEST 36TH STREET, April 7, 1869.

DEAR MRS. STANTON: I am afraid that my presence and voice will add little to your occasion, but if you want either or both of them, I cannot refuse to say my half a word to your audience.

Sincerely yours, O. B. FROTHINGHAM.

As it takes both a man's and woman's thought to make a complete idea we desire your side to be fairly represented.

ANNA E. DICKINSON.

CANTON, Ohio, 4th month 6th, 1869.

DEAR SUSAN B. ANTHONY: Work has run in easy grooves this winter,—not that the travel has not been exhausting, and the roads often wearisome, but that every one in this western world is ablaze with the grand question. Thank God, and hurrah! I feel in *both* moods. * * * * * * *

Furthermore, I am in a doubly delectable condition by reason of having my face set toward home, and beyond, where I am to meet you and all the good people at the Anniversary. ANNA E. DICKINSON.

NORTH SHORE, Staten Island, April 8, 1869.

MRS. STANTON—*My Dear Madam:* If I could do all that I should like to do, I should certainly do what you request. But at the time of your Convention I shall necessarily be far away from the city.

Fortunately for the cause, my experience does not teach me that it will lack the best of advocates, even if I am silent. I am, very respectfully, yours,

GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS.

32 WEST 36th STREET, N Y., April 7, 1869.

MRS. STANTON—*Dear Madam:* I thank you for the correction in THE REVOLUTION, and for the invitation to speak at your meeting. For some time past I have declined to speak at anniversaries, preferring the pulpit to the platform. Very respectfully yours,

JOS. P. THOMPSON.

From the Yale Oration, reviewed this week in our columns, we think the platform is just what our friend needs on this question. Women cannot "talk back" to the pulpit.

COUNCIL BLUFFS, Iowa, April 5, 1869.

DEAR MRS. STANTON: I have in contemplation a trip as far east as Seneca Falls, some time this spring: and since the call for the Convention in May have felt a strong desire to extend the trip to New York. I have been retired from the world so long that it would give me pleasure to see and hear something once more.

Your friend, AMELIA BLOOMER.

Shall be glad to meet our good friend again.

WASHINGTON, April 6, 1869.

DEAR MRS. STANTON: I have yours of the 4th. I am and shall be so overwhelmed with work that I canno possibly accept your invitation. If I can find time to write you a brief word I will.

Very truly yours, GEO. W. JULIAN.

In offering the 16th amendment to the Federal constitution, Mr. Julian has done the crowning work for republican citizenship. The practical work for the women of this country now to do is to call County Conventions in every state, and create such a public sentiment as that Mr. Julian's amendment may be triumphantly passed at the next session of Congress.

Facsimile page of The Revolution

Susan B. Anthony and The Revolution

"Put on your armor and go forth"

A WOMAN with a great fire in her heart once gave birth to a child.
It was not a child of flesh and blood, only a child of ink and paper,
A crystallization of hopes and dreams, a campaign of battle for women.
She called it *The Revolution,* and dreamed it would waken the placid and fatuous women.
She dreamed a brave dream, this sower of seeds, this toiler in heavy furrows.
She cried to women to realize themselves, to fight for their souls and their bodies,
To hew out the path of liberty at the cost of contumely and sacrifice.

The brave paper with the brave name spurring to thought the placid women,
The brave woman with the fiery heart and the iron courage and the high hopes,
Briefly they battered the walls of intrenched prejudice—
Then the tide of the years washed over the unvanquished warrior,
Washed over the child of her brain brought forth with hope and pride.

In the half century since you fought that good fight and laid down your arms
With eyes straining still to the future,
Many have lit their torches in the blaze of your still-living spirit.
Now facing division and doubt, thinned ranks, a divided nation,
We with our blowing torches question you again, far traveler.

One of the rank and file remembered that child of your heart,
That fledging of ink and paper that cost you the bitter years,
And in the great national library that stores up forgotten hopes,
Dragged out to the light the paper you had called *The Revolution*
To waken the inert women to the endless battle for liberty.

That library seemed a dead place—gray—fit for the burial of old hopes.
Through diffused light all silent black figures moved about book-laden.
There was only the stir of pages turned by huddled readers of old books.
And here one tensely awaited Susan Anthony's *Revolution,*
That child of agony and sacrifice, nearly half a century dead.

Then one in black brought a pile of faded red books to the table.
Time had spotted the covers brown and the paper was yellow and faded.
But on those yellow pages, written large, a reproach to the stragglers,
Stood forth the unwithdrawn challenge she had carried through the bitter years:
"Principle, not policy; justice, not favors.—The National Party of New America!"

The Party of a New America—women welded together for their freedom!
She had visioned our modern army in those days of struggle and doubt!
The pages with their faded ink became illuminated missals.
She had captained her band of crusaders through a crisis darker than ours,
Alone, deserted by her friends, the butt of savage ridicule.

The cry of the Abolitionist who bade her be of good cheer,
Who urged her that liberty needed her, seemed to ring through the gray place that night:
"Susan, put on your armor and go forth!"
And I left the yellow books with faded covers and frayed markers.
I put on my armor and went forth—shining armor I felt she had fashioned—
Recovered from the yellowed books buried deep in that place of silence.

By Vivian Pierce

Comments of the Press

A Living Cartoon

THE Congressional Union's picket at the White House gates is a cartoon or poster, posed with living models, on the most conspicuous stage of the country, our national capital.

The following questions and answers may occur to the spectator:

What is this city?

The capital of a great republic, two of whose tenets are that "just governments derive their powers from the consent of the governed" and that "taxation without representation is tyranny."

Who lives in this white mansion?

The President of this great republic, who is also the leader of the Democratic party, whose plea is ever for the rights of the people.

Is he a powerful leader?

He seems able to force his party to make any issue of which he approves a part of its legislative program.

Who are these women at his gates with banners inscribed, "Mr. President, how long must women wait for liberty?"

They are the women of this republic, all of whom are "governed" and all directly or indirectly taxed, asking for the right to vote for their representatives in government.

Is the President angry because they are at his gates?

Apparently not. As an individual he advocates woman suffrage and he acknowledges the respectful salutes of the pickets.

Is the country too occupied with possibilities of war to consider the suffrage amendment?

Canada in the midst of actual war is enfranchising its women. England in its life-or-death struggle is considering the question of extending the franchise. Denmark amidst the perplexities that beset neutrals has enfranchised its women since the war began.

If the United States goes to war, are its women ready for the ultimate sacrifice?

They are. The nation does not doubt this.

Would not this be a fitting time for the President to urge the national Congress to take the initiative step of writing into the Constitution of these United States the political freedom of its womanhood?

This is the question, as yet unanswered by the President, which is written in living type at his gates.—*Emily Sargent Lewis, in the Philadelphia Public Ledger.*

Practical Idealism

THE Woman's Party is the latest development of struggling democracy, and the first organized political movement among women, conceived in the spirit of practical idealism.—*The Club Woman, official organ of the Detroit Federation of Women's Clubs, March,* 1917.

The Nation's Full Strength

SECRETARY DANIELS wishes to enlist women for war service under the Navy Department. Women's organizations throughout the country have attested their eagerness to perform practical service in the event of war.

Is not this the psychological time in which to extend the right to full membership in the nation? Develop the nation's full strength, Mr. President. Enlist the women in the national body politic! — *The Boston Record, March* 23.

Suffrage Specialists

THIS century is an age of specialists and the suffrage cause has its trained workers. The members of the Congressional Union, active just now in Iowa in behalf of the national amendment, come under the specialist heading. They are concentrating their efforts in procuring suffrage for the women of the nation.

When Congressional Union organizers begin efforts in a community, to crystalize support for the national movement, women who have worked wholly for state suffrage realize how closely allied the causes are and lend immediate support.

Iowa is undergoing this experience now, and her women are to be congratulated on the spontaneity with which they are rallying for an appeal to President Wilson.

Iowa having failed in one attempt to gain suffrage, turns courageously to other methods of realizing the goal.—*The Des Moines Capital,*

The Final Reason

ON a basis of women's work, if for no other reason, the suffrage plea is logical even at this time of war's alarms. The unenfranchised women cannot afford to suspend their ambition; and, indeed, why should they not feel encouraged in it?—*Boston, Mass., Journal, March* 24.

In the Society Columns

I WISH you could have seen headquarters of the Congressional Union Women. It hummed like a hive of bees. . . . There were big questions coming up, and a sort of suppressed excitement reigned. . . . It is really impressive to observe women from all of the states, to realize the determination and courage of them, and let me tell you there are no weak-chinned females to be seen among them. All ages and all classes there are, but every woman shows herself a vital power. They have dynamic force, which ought to carry their point—*Town and County N. Y., March* 20.

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Make checks payable to the "Treasurer of the National Woman's Party," 21 Madison Place, Washington, D. C.

List of Contributions from April 2 Through April 9, 1917

Contributions made to National Headquarters:

Per Mrs. Kent's Committee:	
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Membership fees	8.00
Total collected by National Headquarters	1,478.50
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST.....	225,027.49
Total collected by National Headquarters through April 9, 1917	$226,505.99

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Total collected by branches	1,097.31
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST.....	28,569.39
Total collected by the Branches through April 9, 1917	29,666.70
Grand Total	256,172.69
Deduction:	
Transferred from Branch Headquarters to National Headquarters.....	800.00
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Dr. Laura Hawkins	1
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Miss Doris Stevens	4
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New Jersey Branch, National Woman's Party	11
Mrs. C. S. Wolfe	1
Miss Beulah Amidon	1
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